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Marriage and Morality in Catullus

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Senior Honors Thesis

Introduction

In the first century B. C. the city of Rome was gaining momentum in its rise to the height of its power. At that time, all spheres of Roman life were undergoing exciting and monumental changes. Not surprisingly, the upper class of society was on the cutting edge of these changes. It was in this class that a new morality began to take root in Rome. The influences were powerful enough to unsettle and eventually undermine the foundation of strict, traditional values on which the Roman ancestors had established the city. People had mixed reactions to this wave of change. Some of the more conservative, like Cicero, condemned the new ways and continually revered the old ways. Others, abandoning the *mores maiorum*, enjoyed all the pleasures the new morality had to offer them. In his *Pro Caelio*, Cicero emphasizes the contrast between the old and the new morals in his depiction of the infamous Clodia.¹

What were the influences powerful enough to change the face of a society? As Rome began to expand its control in the formation of an empire, other cultures brought influence back onto the Roman society which was still relatively young and culturally underdeveloped. No culture had more influence in Rome than that of Greece. The Romans imported not only the art of the Greeks, but also aspects of their lifestyles. Most luxury items were Greek; the Romans enjoyed and valued Greek wines, fabrics, styles, cosmetics, and perfumes. Greek entertainments were also popular: music, mime, drinking parties, and courtesans.² Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that these changes

¹ *Pro Caelio*, section XIV ff.

² Jasper Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life*, Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986, p. 1-31.

which precipitated the new morality did not reach all classes of society, mostly just the aristocracy; such pleasures had a high price which only the very wealthy could afford.

Another important aspect of the new morality and Greek influence was the development of a *demi-monde* whose ranks were drawn from lower classes for the pleasures of the aristocrats.³ Lyne describes the *demi-monde* as "the world of the elegant and accomplished courtesan (more suitably termed a semi-professional) who offered Roman men passionate and glamorous company, not necessarily on a too temporary basis."⁴ These women did not take the place of Roman *matronae*, but they enhanced the pleasures of life for the Roman male.

The poet Catullus lived and wrote during this period. Like other Romans, Catullus was quite influenced by Greek ways, especially with respect to his literary predecessors, and being a part of the upper class, although not from one of the great Roman families, he moved in the circles which adopted such practices and ways of life at Rome. As is the case with all poetry, it is impossible to tell to what extent Catullus' poetry accurately reflects his surroundings, but it may be considered that he offers his readers a "stylized and refined version of reality".⁵

Despite the degree of stylization, through careful analysis of Catullus' poems, it is possible to gather some idea about how the poet felt regarding the moral climate in Rome. He, like Cicero, recognized the dichotomy of old versus new. In his long poems (61-68) and others, he tends to praise the old, traditional values through his representation of the institution of marriage. In his invectives, in particular, he looks on the corruption and irreverence of the day with disdain.

Catullus' relationship with Lesbia presents an intriguing conflict between the old and new moralities. If Lesbia has been properly identified as the notorious Clodia, one of

³ See Griffin, *ibid.*, pp. 26ff, and R. O. A. M. Lyne, *The Latin Love Poets*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 8ff. for a more thorough discussion of the *demi-monde*.

⁴ Lyne, *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵ Griffin, p. 21.

the main proponents of the new morality, she must have been very influential on Catullus' more traditional outlook. Wiseman points out that perhaps Catullus' conservative morality was developed at his home town, Verona, in northern Italy.⁶ After he went to Rome and became involved with the "jet-set" aristocracy, Catullus probably felt a real conflict between the moralities of the two worlds. Recently, one scholar has described Catullus as "a man who was acutely aware of the social and political institutions of his time, and one who felt very keenly the great gulf which existed between traditional Roman ideas and their contemporary practice."⁷

⁶ T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and His World: A Reappraisal*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 129.

⁷ Martha P. Vinson, "And Baby Makes Three? Parental Imagery in the Lesbia Poems of Catullus", *The Classical Journal*, 1989, Vol. 85., No. 1, pp. 47-53.

I

Catullus' high estimation of the traditional values is best represented in poems which deal with marriage and marital imagery. Traditional Roman attitudes towards marriage involved a serious set of moral ideals which attended the more functional purpose of marriage. Functionally, a marriage was the institution which sanctioned the union of a man and woman for the propagation of children, which in turn would insure the propagation of the state.⁸ With marriage, the concepts of fidelity, obligation, and eternity were associated strongly. In addition, it was ideal for a woman to spend her whole life with only one man; this is the concept of *univira*.⁹ Adultery was morally unacceptable, although not unknown, but the husband's relations with social inferiors, such as slaves and prostitutes, were perfectly acceptable.¹⁰

Catullus placed such emphasis on these traditional values that his poems which have marriage as their main theme, 61, 62, 64, and 68, are outstanding. These represent his centerpieces both figuratively, that is artistically, and literally, as the central poems of the corpus (although we cannot be absolutely sure whether this is the order Catullus intended).¹¹ Marital themes and imagery are prevalent in several other poems, such as 45, 66, and 67, and particularly important is their role in the Lesbia poems, such as 70, 72, and

⁸ Susan Treggiari, "Roman Marriage" in *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, edited by Michael Grant and Rachel Kitzinger, Vol. 3, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, pp. 1343-1354.

⁹ See Gordon Williams, "Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1958, Vol. 48, pp. 16-29, and Treggiari, op. cit., for more on these ideals.

¹⁰ Treggiari, p. 1351.

¹¹ After intensive study of the poems, I do believe that the order of the poems was established by the poet himself. There are definite patterns, although complicated, which could not have been created by mere chance. In recent years, scholars have begun to pay more consideration to the arrangement of the poems. Two works worthy of consideration are Marilyn B. Skinner's "Catullus' Passer": The Arrangement of the Book of Polymetric Poems", Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1981, and Helen Dettmer's "Design in the Catullan Corpus, A Preliminary Study", *Classical World*, 1988, Vol. 81, No. 5, pp. 371-381.

87. Throughout these poems, Catullus continually emphasizes the values of chastity, sanctity, fidelity, and familial love. Together they represent the cornerstones of his conception of ideal marriage, but they also convey much more about his values beyond the sphere of marriage.

The chastity of the bride is an important feature of the ideal marriage in the poems. Catullus' uses the words *virgo*, *virgineus*, *virginitas*, *castus*, *purus*, *integer*, *prudens*, *pudeo*, *pudicitia*, *pudicus*, and *pudor* to convey his ideas about it.¹² In several poems, *virgo* refers to a bride about to be wed or to the maidens attending the ceremonies. Interestingly, the abstract noun for chastity, *pudor*, is used only once, 61.83. A lacuna in the text, however, makes it difficult to discern the full meaning of the word in its context, although it probably refers to *ingenuus pudor*, natural modesty, which delays the bride's appearance. The adjectival forms of this word do not refer so much to sexual modesty as socially decent behavior.

The adjective *castus*, from which the English word "chaste" is derived, occurs in contexts which connote both virginity and "moral chastity" which is not necessarily associated with virginity. For example, in 62.23 *castam puellam* refers to a bride as a virgin; however, in 66.83 the phrase *casto ... iura cubili*, the laws in "chaste" marriage, certainly cannot refer to the established marriage of a virgin since a marriage does not become established until it has been consummated and the bride's virginity lost. Instead *casto* in 66.83 must mean "morally chaste".¹³

Two poems are particularly associated with the theme of chastity. In the first stanza of poem 34, the hymn to Diana, the boys and girls who invoke Diana are considered

¹² See appendix for a listing of words and their occurrence in the poems. Every occurrence of a word is listed, although the same words may have different meanings in different contexts.

¹³ This interpretation may shed light on the curious occurrence of *castum poetam* in 16.5. In the midst of nasty words, Catullus claims that a poet must be "chaste"; here *castum* might also mean "morally chaste", that is, chaste at heart.

integri, chaste. The repetition of the word is formulaic as of a formal invocation, but it also emphasizes the importance of chastity. Moreover, the significance of the theme in this poem is contextual in that Diana is often associated with chastity.

Poem 62 has chastity and virginity as its main themes. The poem is established as a contest between boys and girls at a wedding feast. Here, the girls portray marriage as a cruel and dreaded event, but the boys eagerly look forward to it. In lines 39-47, the maidens compare a girl's loss of virginity to a flower, which was just flourishing in a field, being cut and destroyed by a passing plow. Once a flower is cut, it is no longer desirable. This represents the idea that a deflowered maiden is undesirable for marriage, but in its immediate context, the negative image is imposed on a girl's marriage, at which time, of course, it is only appropriate for a girl to lose her virginity. (To this claim, the boys immediately contest with another agricultural metaphor, that a vine not wedded to a tree is undesirable.) Catullus also uses this distinct image in poem 11, lines 22-24, to refer to his love for Lesbia which has been cut by her *culpa*, fault. Perhaps, here Catullus refers to his idea of being "morally chaste" but devastated by the immorality of Clodia.

It is interesting to note that later in poem 62, lines 62-64, the boys advise the virgin that her *virginitas* is not all hers; a third belongs to her father, a third to her mother, and only a third to herself. Again, this emphasizes the relationship between a girl's virginity and her capacity for a suitable marriage. Chastity and virginity were certainly important elements of the Roman institution of marriage; however, Wiseman points out that perhaps Catullus' "obsession" with chastity came from the influence of the Greek novel.¹⁴ It is difficult to determine the validity of this statement regarding the actual source of Catullus' concern for chastity, and, moreover, "obsession" may be too strong of a word. Nevertheless, Catullus did display significant concern for the virtue in his poetry.

¹⁴ Wiseman, op. cit., p. 118.

Another important element of the ideal marriage was sanctity. This took many forms, from the divine blessings of the gods at the outset, to the personal reverence of the bride and groom for the gods and their marriage. Catullus seems to have believed that mutual love was the ideal between two people, and that mutual love is rewarded by divine blessings.¹⁵ Such a relationship is presented in poem 45, which must be considered as portraying quasi-marital imagery since Acme and Septimius seem to be lovers and not husband and wife.¹⁶ Their love is approved of by the sneeze of Cupid, who seems to be looking on from the corner of the scene. In line 20 the adjective *mutuus*, mutual, which only occurs one other time in the corpus, is used to describe their love.¹⁷ In poem 61 (below, p. 11), the combination of mutual love and divine blessings is also involved.

Divine blessings are important in other poems as well. In poem 64 one of the central themes is the relationship between immortals and mortals, and divine blessings are a part of that relationship. For the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, Jupiter offered a supreme blessing: he gave Thetis, who was to be his own, to Peleus, who, in turn, had the honor of being the first mortal to marry an immortal. Almost all of the gods displayed their blessings by attending the wedding, which was held in the home of a mortal, and by bringing gifts to the couple. In the mythological tradition, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis was not as joyous as the wedding. The reader would surely sense a cloud of doom hanging over the poem knowing that the couple would separate and that their child, Achilles, although destined for great things, was thoroughly mortal. Nevertheless, by not telling the whole story, Catullus emphasizes the good aspects of the marriage in poem 64.

Whereas 45 and 64 emphasize divine blessings as a form of sanctity, poem 66 represents the religious piety of the bride. Although the poem is considered to have been

¹⁵ Wiseman, pp. 116-118, includes a discussion of this interpretation and its presentation in poem 45. He suggests that this notion of mutual love could have been influenced by the Greek novel.

¹⁶ Wiseman, p. 116, in reference to this poem claims "where marriage is clearly not involved", but he offers no explanations. The absence of marriage can be inferred, I think, from the romantic fervor of the young lovers which *seems* to be more characteristic of a love affair rather than a marriage.

¹⁷ In 50.6, *mutua*, refers to the pleasures shared by Licinius and Catullus over poetry.

adapted from Callimachus, an Alexandrian poet who had great influence on Catullus, the story of Berenice provided the poet with a model for one of his ideals. The lock informs the audience that Berenice was so upset at the departure of her newly-wed husband for war that she vowed to the gods a lock of her hair if he returned safely. The gods were so pleased with her true devotion and her sacrifice of the lock (perhaps representative as part of herself for her husband) that her husband returned in no time after a successful campaign, and the lock became a constellation in heaven, a "shining example" of her piety. The extreme good fortune of the situation is used to magnify the importance of her actions. At the end of the poem, the lock offers advice to new brides to emulate the example of Berenice.

In his representation of sanctity, Catullus uses mythological and ideal scenes to illustrate his thoughts rather than drawing verbal links between poems which emphasize similar ideas. Nevertheless, such words as *sanguis*, *sanctus*, *pius*, and *pietas* refer to the values and practices associated with such attitudes.

Closely associated with sanctity and piety, fidelity was a third virtue of the ideal marriage. Loyalty was also particularly important to Catullus in his personal relationships with men and women. (For a more thorough discussion of Catullus' ideals of loyalty in relationships, see p. 13) Although fidelity is better illustrated through its opposite, betrayal, (below, p. 23), there are, however, some examples of it in positive respects. The vocabulary of fidelity is placed mainly in two important words, *fides* (including its adjectival forms, *fidus* and *fidelis*) and *foedus*.

In 45.23, the occurrence of *fidelis* as an epithet of Acme is significant; she is the only person directly referred to as this in the entire corpus. In the context of the poem, *uno in Septimio fidelis Acme facit delicias libidinesque* (lines 23-24), not only is fidelity

portrayed, but also the ideal of *univira*. The majority of the other occurrences of *fides*, *fidus*, and *fidelis* in the corpus refer to Catullus' relationship with other people, including Lesbia, and negative examples in the case of Theseus.

In contrast, *foedus* is used almost exclusively in reference to the serious nature of the bond in a marriage relationship. The first of only five occurrences falls in the song of the Fates, 64.335. Lines 334-336 emphasize the exceptional nature of Peleus' and Thetis' union:

*nulla domus tales umquam contexit amores,
nullus amor tali coniunxit foedere amantes,
qualis adest Thetidi, qualis concordia Peleo*

"No house ever harbored such loves as these,
no love ever joined lovers with such a bond
as is the harmony between Thetis and Peleus."¹⁸

The second instance, also in 64, refers to their actual marriage as *felici foedere*, line 373. The other three occurrences of *foedus* pertain to Catullus' relationship with Lesbia (below p. 18f.). It is probable that Catullus' use of *foedus*, a word normally associated with legal treaties, was not meant to convey a cold, business-like sense, but rather it was intended to impart a sense of the seriousness of the obligation being undertaken.

The importance of familial love in Catullus' conception of an ideal marriage is more difficult to detect than the other concepts. Like sanctity, the ideas are conveyed more through imagery than a definable vocabulary. Perhaps the best example involves Catullus' feelings for his brother and a passage in poem 66. Poem 101, Catullus' farewell to his brother, conveys the poet's profound grief at his brother's death. In addition to this poem, there are other passages which describe more specifically what the poet felt. In poem 65, Catullus refers to his brother as *vita frater amabilior*, dearer than life, line 10. In the same

¹⁸ G. P. Goold, *Catullus*, London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1983. All subsequent quoted translations are also Goold's. In this paper, Goold's Latin text has been used in conjunction with his translations. (I have found this translation to be one of the most literal, yet not lacking in clarity of expression.)

poem Catullus declares eternal love for his brother and eternal grief at his death (lines 11-12). In poem 68, Catullus employs identical passages to express the significance of the loss of his brother:

*tecum una totast nostra sepulta domus,
omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,
quae tuus in vita dulcis alebat amor,*

"together with you all our house lies buried,
together with you all our joys have perished, those joys,
which, while you lived, your dear love fostered"
(lines 22-24, 94-96).

From these passages the reader can infer how great the bond was between Catullus and his brother.

In poem 66 the lock describes Berenice's reactions when she was separated from her husband: *et tu non orbem luxti deserta cubile, sed fratris cari flebile discidium*: "and you wept, you say, not as deserted wife for widowed bed, but for the sad separation from a dear brother" (lines 21-22). (Of course, Berenice's husband was her brother, but this relationship must not be considered "incestuous" in a derogatory sense, since Berenice and her husband/brother were Egyptian, and the marriage of siblings was commonly practiced in the royal family in Egypt.) Nevertheless, this description of familial love at once brings to the mind of the reader Catullus' feelings for his brother (if the poems have retained their original arrangement and the reader were reading straight through the collection, the reader would recall Catullus' mention of his brother's death immediately preceding this poem). Lyne claims that Catullus employed familial imagery "to communicate an indefinable feeling of unequivocal, committed love".¹⁹ Catullus was interested in the quality of familial love, as opposed to the quality of purely lustful love.

Poem 61 is the most important poem in the collection which deals with the virtues

¹⁹ Lyne, op. cit., p. 40.

of marriage because it encapsulates all ideals into a wedding poem; elements of all aspects of the ideal marriage can be found in the poem. From its position at the beginning of the collection of long poems, 61 can be considered programmatic for the ideals of marriage which are to be emphasized in the other long poems. Garrison notes that three types of wedding poems have been combined in poem 61: those associated with the wedding feast, the Hymenaeal which was part of the procession, and the epithalamium which was performed when the bride and groom met in the bedroom.²⁰ The frequency of the adjective *bonus* is significant; it is used eleven times in reference to various aspects of the wedding. Such repetition conveys strong moral implications.²¹

The poem opens with the invocation to Hymen, the god of marriage; the poet and the wedding party seek his blessing of the union. The maidens which attend the wedding are referred to as *integrae virgines* (lines 36-37); although *integer* can mean "unwed", the connotation of "chaste" is implied here as in poem 34 (above pp. 5-6). The poem continues that only with such blessing can the couple have sanctioned sexual relations and legitimate children. The importance of legitimate children is highlighted in the poem not only in their role as heirs, but also in their role as the future of the state (lines 66-75). As the poet encourages the bride to overcome her modesty and come out from the house, he assures her that her husband will be faithful after they have been united (lines 76-101). Catullus' use of the image of the marriage as a vine entwined to a tree (lines 102-105) creates a link to poem 62 (lines 49-58). The poet then turns the attention to the groom and the necessity for him to give up his boyfriend. Lines 139-141 reflect the idea that a married man was not to partake in the same pleasures of his youth:

*scimus haec tibi quae licent,
soli cognita, sed marito
ista non eadem licent,*

²⁰ Daniel H. Garrison, *The Student's Catullus*, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989, p. 124.

²¹ Wiseman, p. 114.

"we know that the joys permitted
a bachelor are known to you, but
they are not permitted to a husband."

Next, the prospect of a long life together is followed by a warning to the bride to cross the threshold carefully (149-161). Descriptions of the groom's passion lead into the epithalamium section of the poem. After a description of the appearance of the bride and groom, the blessings of Venus are sought, like Hymen, to sanctify the sexual relations of the couple (184-208). Such relations will produce an heir. At this point (lines 209-218), Catullus indulges in a tender depiction of the baby-to-be. Not only does this reiterate the important role of a legitimate child, but moreover, the delicacy of the scene suggests the profound quality of familial love which is associated with good marriage. The poem closes with an injunction for the couple to enjoy their life together, and especially this first night!

The chastity of the bride is represented not only in *pudor*, line 83, and *pudicitiam*, line 224, but also in similes which refer to her "flower of maidenhood". In lines 86-88, she is compared to a hyacinth in a man's garden, and in lines 185-187, her bright complexion is compared to flowers. Both of these images are related to the image of the deflowered girl of poem 62, lines 39-47 (above p. 6). Divine blessings are not portrayed, as they were in poems 45 and 64, with the epiphanies of the gods. Perhaps the difference is to be found in differences in the depiction of reality; poem 61 represents a situation which was presumably "real". Nevertheless, the invocations to Hymen and Venus are requests for sanction of the wedding. The fidelity of the marriage is assured for the bride, and also the passion between the bride and groom. The duties of each spouse to the marriage are set forth, and the images of familial love support the promise of fidelity. Thus, poem 61 succeeds in presenting all aspects of the ideal Roman marriage.

The remaining poems in the corpus which involve marital imagery, marriage, and its ideal values are much more personal for the poet, for they involve his relationship with Lesbia. In order to fully understand Catullus' presentation of this particular relationship, it is necessary to consider the ways in which the poet viewed relationships in general. In Catullus' time, there existed "a highly developed code, and therefore language, of social commitment".²² This relationship is referred to as *amicitia*, literally "friendship", but implying much more. *Amicitia* is most often associated with the "networking" which was taking place among the aristocracy of Rome; of course, this involved political maneuvers. Indeed, it was unusual for Catullus to apply this concept to a relationship between a man and a woman, but as Lyne points out "lovers had not yet worked out a language of mutual commitment; society had, so Catullus used it".²³ Ross best sums up the powerful aspects and language of the *amicitia* relationship:

Catullus, then, has portrayed his affair with Lesbia in the terminology of a political alliance: it is to be an *amicitia* [friendship], a *foedus* [agreement], based on *fides* [faith], the concrete expressions of which are the mutual *benevolentia* [courtesies] and *benefacta* [kindnesses] of the two parties, resulting in *gratia* [favors] arising from the performance of *officia* [obligations]; the relationship is to be protected by a divinity, as it must be religiously observed with *pietas* [piety, reverence] by both parties...²⁴

Catullus' utilization of this vocabulary in the Lesbia poems is an outstanding feature of his work, but he also employs these words in reference to his relations with certain men.

Regarding Catullus' perception of his relationship with Lesbia as *amicita*, he obviously considered their relationship to be quite serious. Although they were not husband and wife, he envisioned their relationship in terms of his idealization of marriage

²² Lyne, p. 24. See Lyne pp. 24-38, and David O. Ross, *Style and Tradition in Catullus*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969, pp. 83-91, for a more thorough discussion of the *amicitia* relationship and its application by Catullus to Lesbia.

²³ Lyne p. 25.

²⁴ Ross, p. 90. The bracketed translations are mine and are incapable of completely conveying the full sense of the word.

and the accompanying morality. The irony is, of course, that Clodia was far from the ideal wife, and Catullus' expectations of her left the poet open to great heartbreak. Some of his most moving passages come from his description of joys and anguish associated with Lesbia in this role. Complex mythological associations are employed in the poems, associations which are self-contained in poems and ones which echo throughout the corpus.

Like poem 61 for Manlius and Junia, poem 68 can be considered Catullus' and Lesbia's wedding poem, although they did not share any real marriage. The poem is based around the story of a friend who loaned Catullus his house so that he could have a secret rendezvous with Lesbia. However, when Catullus went to "play house", he fantasized that he was the groom awaiting the arrival of his new bride.²⁵

His description of Lesbia's arrival, lines 70-72, is depicted as the arrival of a bride into her new house. Two elements in this description are particularly important. First of all, the description itself is reminiscent of the advice to the bride of poem 61 not to step on the threshold, lines 159-161. In 68, it seems that Lesbia stepped right on the threshold and stopped. On the one hand, this could be considered a device for creating suspense inserted by the poet as he begins to digress; on the other hand, it could be seen as a bad omen. Secondly, it is significant that Catullus refers to Lesbia as his *candida diva*, a shining goddess, line 70. This epithet reflects not only the glory of the moment for the poet and his high regard for Lesbia at that time, but it also takes the poem into the realm of the mythological. Such a move provides a transition for the following section, the story of Laodamia, but it also elevates the whole event to the idealized proportions of poems 61, 62, 64, and 66.

²⁵ Lyne discusses poem 68 thoroughly, pp. 52-60.

The story of Laodamia has a twofold function in relation to this imagery. In the first line of the digression, line 73, Catullus compares Lesbia's passion at her arrival to the house to Laodamia's passion on her wedding day. In this respect, the comparison seems to be positive; however, the simile becomes dark as the reader realizes that Laodamia and Protesilaus did not live happily ever after. Furthermore, it is interesting to note the similarity between Laodamia's situation and Berenice's. In both, the brides are left by their newly-wed husbands who go to face war. The important difference is that Berenice offered sacrifice and her marriage was saved. Laodamia had not even sought the approval of the gods before becoming Protesilaus' wife, and her marriage was doomed.²⁶ This bad marriage of Laodamia is another negative "omen" for the union of Catullus and Lesbia.

Catullus returns to his depiction of Lesbia in line 130, as Cupid, dressed like Hymen, flits around her. It appears that the two have received divine blessings, but, the union is not ideal. In line 135 Catullus mentions Lesbia's infidelity. The following lines provide an interesting account of Catullus' feelings towards the whole situation. At first he claims that he will tolerate the *rara verecundae furta...erae*, "rare lapses of my discreet mistress", line 136. (His underestimation of the situation must indicate his attempt to treat the problem as trivial). He considers that if Juno can bear Jupiter's *furta*, surely, he can bear Lesbia's. In the next sentence, however, he refutes this claiming that the lives of mortals and immortals cannot be compared (line 141). He continues that Lesbia did not even come to him as a true bride, but she came in adultery (lines 143-146). Finally, in 147-148, Catullus states that although his relationship with her is not ideal, he will take what he can get. This wavering indicates the extent to which his passion was able to influence his sense of morality.

²⁶ Lyne, p. 59.

Poem 64 also addresses the conflict between the real and the ideal in the relationship of Catullus and Lesbia. The relationship of Peleus and Thetis in poem 64 has already been discussed in terms of divine blessings (above, p. 16); thus this relationship can be considered "ideal". In contrast, the poem is largely concerned with the relationship of Ariadne and Theseus which was far from ideal.

Catullus drew a connection between Lesbia and Thetis in poem 68 when he called Lesbia a *candida diva*. Although there are other goddesses mentioned in the corpus, Thetis is the only one represented in a situation similar to Lesbia in 68: both are "brides". If the relationship between Lesbia and Thetis can be established, then Catullus can be compared to Peleus in that he, a mere mortal like Peleus, had the privilege of "marrying" a "goddess". A very significant parallel between the two couples can be drawn also from the use of the word *foedus*.²⁷ Catullus only uses this word in reference to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (above, p. 9) and his relationship with Lesbia (below p. 18f.). The profound importance of this word to the poet and his frugality in its use is strong evidence for the connection. Nevertheless, from what Catullus offers his readers in the story, this comparison can go no farther. However, if one considers the traditional story in which Peleus' and Thetis' marriage is short-lived, like the story of Laodamia and Protesilaus, in the end this comparison does not bode well for the relationship of Catullus and Lesbia.

The story of Theseus and Ariadne is not just a casual digression within the story of Peleus and Thetis; this story is just as important as the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, if not more so. Perhaps the story of Ariadne and Theseus functions as a disguised end to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis; in this association, it would also connect with the relationship of Catullus and Lesbia. Nevertheless, the imagery of passion which ended in betrayal and remorse for Ariadne is similar to the cycle which Catullus underwent with Lesbia. Two comparisons illustrate the similarities between Catullus and Ariadne.²⁸ In

²⁷ Wiseman, p. 178.

poem 70 when Lesbia says that she would rather marry Catullus than Jupiter, Catullus responds that a woman's words to her lover should be written on the wind. Similarly, in 64.139-142, Ariadne claims that the winds have torn apart Theseus' promises to marry her. In the second example, 64.154-157, in which Ariadne refers to the cruelty of Theseus, the same images are used in poem 60 by the poet in reference to Lesbia (presumably, although she is not called by name). These strong verbal parallels confirm the connection between Catullus and Ariadne and Lesbia and Theseus.

Just as there is the powerful dichotomy in poem 64 between the marriages of Peleus and Thetis and Theseus and Ariadne, so closely juxtaposed, so there is the twofold nature of Catullus' relationship with Lesbia. On the one hand, his relationship with her was the ideal marriage, in his fantasy; on the other hand there was the harsh reality of Lesbia's betrayal of Catullus and the realization that despite the passion, there was never any marriage at all.

In later poems in the corpus, however, Catullus again writes as if there were a marriage between him and Lesbia. Although it is impossible to discern when these poems were written in terms of the chronological progression of the relationship and his feelings about it, the important factor is that at some point in time Catullus did identify his feelings and their relationship with marriage.

Poem 70 indicates that Lesbia herself had given Catullus this idea. In the poem, Catullus reports that Lesbia claims that she would rather marry Catullus than Jupiter, lines 1-2. (This may draw a subtle connection to 64 in the fact that Thetis once married a mortal instead of Jupiter.) In lines 3-4, however, Catullus admits that a woman's words to her lover cannot be trusted. This is an obvious verbal parallel to Theseus' promises to Ariadne

²⁸ Wiseman, pp. 177-178.

(64.139-142).

Poem 72 seems to be a follow-up to poem 70; 72.1-2 reminds Lesbia of the claim she made as set forth in 70.1-2. The important feature of this poem, however, is the connection drawn between marriage and Catullus' feelings towards Lesbia when the feelings of mutual love, which Catullus associated with marriage, were present. Catullus says *dilexi tum te non tantum ut vulgus amicam, sed pater ut natos diligit et generos*, "I cherished you then, not just as an ordinary man a mistress, but as a father cherishes his children" and his sons-in-law (lines 3-4). Once again Catullus reveals his high estimation of familial love. The use of the verb *diligo* is significant; *diligo* denotes a type of exclusive, caring, familial love, ("cherish" is a good translation) as opposed to the various possible connotations of *amo*.²⁹ This poem, like others, reflects Catullus' near attainment of the ideal marriage in his relationship with Lesbia, but its crushing destruction by her true nature: *nunc te cognovi*, "now I know you", he says, line 5. All that is left of the ideal is the burning passion which plagues him (cf. poem 76, below, p. 19f.).

Poem 87 also contains verbal links with the ideals of marriage. In this poem Catullus claims the purity of his love and fidelity:

*Nulla potest mulier tantum se dicere amatam
vere, quantum a me Lesbia amata meast.
nulla fides ullo fuit umquam in foedere tanta,
quanta in amore tuo ex parte reperta meast.*

"No woman can truly say that she has been loved
as much as my Lesbia has been loved by me.
No faithfulness in any contract ever proved so great
as that which was found on my side in my love for you."

These sentiments are very similar to the description of the union of Peleus and Thetis, 64.334-336 (cited above, p. 9). Not only do both passages emphasize the importance of the *foedus*, but they draw another parallel between Peleus and Thetis and Catullus and

²⁹ *Amo* and other forms of the word have a broad range of connotations in Catullus; it can refer to an emotion which falls within a spectrum spanning gently caring love to fiercely passionate love. The precise meaning of *amo* within a given context is, therefore, always disputable.

Lesbia. This connection also supports the unspecific use of *foedus* in poem 76 as a reference to Catullus' and Lesbia's relationship.

Poems 107 and 109 both seem to represent the return of Lesbia to Catullus. In 107 he describes her return and his joy. In 109 he reverts to talking of their relationship in terms of a marriage. His ideal of mutual love and the Roman ideal of long-lasting marriage are apparent: *Jucundum, mea vita, proponis amorem hunc nostrum inter nos perpetuumque fore*, "You assure me, my darling that this mutual love of ours will be happy and last for ever", lines 1-2. After a prayer to the gods that her promise be true, Catullus refers to their relationship as *aeternum hoc sanctae foedus amicitiae*, "this eternal compact of hallowed friendship", line 6. (The importance of *sanctus* and *foedus* have already been discussed, p. 7 and p. 13). Thus in this poem, Catullus employs the terms of the ideal marriage to describe his renewed relationship with Lesbia. It is an unexpected ending to the Lesbia poems, but some interpretations can be made. Perhaps if Lesbia really did return, Catullus, being a fool for love, involuntarily went back to his old habits. On the other hand, perhaps Catullus realized that the only way his relationship with Lesbia could exist was through the ideals of his poetry.

Regardless of the true meaning behind 107 and 109, it is undeniable that the majority of the poems in the corpus refer to Catullus' heartbreak with Lesbia. The story of Ariadne in 64 revealed much about Catullus' attempt at an ideal marriage which faded to reveal the realities of a treacherous lover. Other poems, such as 70, 72, and 87, emphasize the shortcomings of Lesbia in contrast to the poet's own ideals. Catullus' relationship with her shook the foundations of his morality.

The despair felt by the poet at the disillusionment of his faith in his own morals is most powerful in poem 76. Throughout the poem, strong verbal links reflect the ideals

established in the marriage poems. Sanctity, perhaps, is the most prominent value in this poem. Catullus seeks the help and blessings of the gods which he feels he has earned because of his piety. Of the two direct appeals to the gods included in the poem, the second expresses this sentiment: *o di, reddite mi hoc pro pietate mea!*, "Ye gods, grant me this as a reward for my devotion", line 26. *Pietas*, of course, is a difficult concept to define; however, in the opening lines of the poem, Catullus provides us with what seems to be his personal definition of the concept.³⁰ The poem begins:

*Siqua recordanti benefacta priora voluptas
est homini, cum se cogitat esse pium,
nec sanctam violasse fidem, nec foedere in ullo
divum ad fallendos numine abusum homines,* (76.1-4)

"If remembering his former kindnesses, a man can feel pleasure, when he reflects that he has done his duty, that he has not broken sacred faith or in any agreement has abused the sanction of the gods in order to deceive men ..."

As well as reinforcing the concepts of piety and sanctity, the vocabulary of this section is loaded with references to the ideals of the *amicitia* relationship.³¹ Although Catullus is generalizing here, it is clear from the rest of this poem that these principles apply to him. Thus, in line 2 he considers himself to have been *pium*. In line 3 it is he who has not broken any *sanctam fidem* or in *ullo foedere* abused the *divum numine*. Unlike the other examples of *foedus*, Catullus is not referring *directly* to a "marriage pact", but here, he indirectly implies his *foedus* with Lesbia both through the immediate context of the association of these ideals with his own personal experience and the larger context of his use of *foedus* and the ideals of *amicitia* within the corpus.

In lines 5-9 Catullus claims that since he has done all he could, he deserves rewards for his piety, even though his efforts were to no avail. In lines 10-16, Catullus realizes that he must let go of the situation with Lesbia *sive id non pote sive pote*, "whether possible or

³⁰ R. M. Henry, "Pietas and Fides in Catullus", *Hermathena*, 1950-51, Vol. 75, pp. 63-68.

³¹ Lyne, p. 31.

not". Recognition of the difficulty of this task leads Catullus into prayer:

*o di, si vestrumst misereri, aut si quibus umquam
extremam jam ipsa in morte tulistis opem,
me miserum aspictie et, si vitam puriter egi,
eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi, (lines 17-20)*

"Ye gods, if it is in you to have mercy, or if ever to any
you have given aid at the last in the very hour of death,
look on me in my misery and, if I have led a pure life,
rid me of this plague and pestilence..."

His comparison of his love for Lesbia to a disease and the description of that disease which follows, lines 21-22, indicate the destructive and corrupting nature of her set of values and their effect on Catullus' own values as well as the force of his passion for her inside him. Nevertheless, Lesbia was not able to destroy his basic morality, as this poem indicates. In lines 23-25 Catullus admits that he no longer wants to impose his morals on her, he just wants to be rid of her:

*non iam illud quaero, contra me ut diligat illa,
aut, quod non potis est, esse pudica velit:
ipse valere opto et taetrum hunc deponere morbum.*

"I do not now seek this, that she should love me in return,
or, what is not possible, that she wish to be chaste:
I yearn to be well and to get rid of this foul disease."

Poem 76 is powerful both in its representation of Catullus' ideals and their conflict with the realities of Lesbia. Likewise, there is a tricky play between the real and the ideal of the long poems. The ideal morality set forth in an idealized manner in the long poems of 61, 62, 64, and 66 are revealed to be the realities of Catullus' morality. Conversely, some of the apparent "realities" of his relationship with Lesbia as set forth in poem 68, are revealed to be no more than the ideal. The clues to this situation in 68 become more obvious in retrospect: the heightened portrayal of Lesbia, the disastrous end of Laodamia's marriage, and even the blunt admission of Lesbia's shortcomings at the end of the poem, all of which ironically were "outshone" by Catullus' glorious portrayal of Lesbia at the

heart of the poem.

Thus, through the use of specific words, Catullus established his ideals of marriage. Apart from the verbal connections, however, visual images were used to enhance the context of the ideals being presented; this visual imagery was given the form of light. The vocabulary which Catullus used to create these images consisted of such words as *aureolus*, *aureus*, *auratus*, *aurum*, *candeo*, *candidus*, *flagro*, *flamma*, *flammatus*, *flammeus*, *fulgeo*, *fulgor*, *luceo*, *lux*, *lumen*, *nitor*, *niteo*, and *splendidus*. Although there are several instances of these words being used in other contexts throughout the corpus, in the wedding poems they often describe the bride, the procession, the place (for example, Peleus' palace), and other related elements. The overall effect of such imagery positively reinforces (almost subliminally) the related values in the reader's mind. Light imagery also creates a "bigger-than-life" effect which is appropriate to the grand proportions of the ideals and the mythological allusions. In some cases, such as Catullus' perception of Lesbia and Ariadne's perception of Theseus, the light of the ideal blinds the audience to the reality. Lavish and colorful descriptions are another technique which Catullus employed to enhance the presentation and the method of his poetry.

II

Indeed the morals of the poet must have been more conservative than the changing values held by some members of the aristocracy. Despite his high standards, however, the realities of Catullus' life fell short of the ideals. The aristocratic "jet-setters" whom Catullus knew lived in an elite and fast-paced society in which they enjoyed the sensual pleasures of Greek luxuries and practices. For them, it was a world of parties and display, probably not unlike the lifestyle of the social elite in our society. This lifestyle, which may have been glamorous to so many of its participants, including Catullus, was inherently offensive to the values on which his morality was based. As a result, any infringement on this morality appears to have personally offended the poet. This can be seen most clearly in his "rollercoaster romance" with Lesbia, but it is also apparent in his relationships with others. Just as there are poems which set forth his ideals, there are poems which deal with their violation. The function of these poems can be interpreted an enhancement of the ideal through the negative example, or an expression of injury and disappointment felt by the poet, or a combination of both.

For Catullus, violation of the personal relationship was the most offensive. This offense took the form of betrayal and adultery. In poem 66, Catullus reveals his attitudes towards adultery through his characterization of the lock (the lock has just commented that perfumes for the hair are only proper for married women):

*sed quae se impuro dedit adulterio,
illius ah mala dona levis bibat irrita pulvis:
namque ego ab indignis praemia irrita pulvis* (lines 84-86)

"But as for her who has given herself to foul adultery,
ah let the light dust drink up and nullify her wicked
presents: I seek no favors from the unworthy."

Not only did Catullus disapprove of adultery, but it was considered highly unacceptable in Roman society (although, of course, it still took place).

Most of the poems which address the themes of adultery and betrayal involve Lesbia. Not only did she betray their love and the *amicitia* which was so important to Catullus, but since Catullus thought of their relationship in terms of marriage, he also portrays her as adulterous. Poem 11 has to do with Catullus' confrontation with Lesbia's infidelity. In the poem, Catullus entrusts Furius and Aurelius with a message for Lesbia -- Catullus is breaking up with her. One scholar interprets this poem as a formal notice of divorce in which Catullus gives as his reason for divorce (line 16) her relations with *moechis*, a word which means not only a lover, but an adulterous lover.³² Again Catullus employs the terminology of marriage to define his relationship with Lesbia, or, as here, his lack of one.

In poem 37 Catullus addresses her betrayal by attacking her lovers directly and Lesbia indirectly through "guilt by association". It is significant that he again calls her lovers *moechi*, adulterers. Although not as specific, poem 75 also suggests Lesbia's betrayal. In lines 1-2, Catullus describes his state of mind: *Huc est mens deducta tua mea, Lesbia, Culpa, atque ita se officio perdidit ipsa suo...*, "To this pass has my mind been brought by your perfidy, Lesbia, and so ruined by its devotion...". The important phrases are *tua culpa*, in which Catullus places the blame on Lesbia, and *suo officio*, in which he claims that his devotion or his sense of duty to her was so strong; the result is that both together have ruined Catullus. Poem 75 presents hard evidence that Catullus' strong sense of morality was crushed by Lesbia's lack of one.

The betrayal of Catullus by Lesbia is touched on in other various references throughout the corpus; however, the most extensive description falls under the comparison of Catullus' and Lesbia's relationship to that of Ariadne and Theseus. It has already been

³² R. Mayer, "Catullus' Divorce", *Classical Quarterly*, 1983, Vol. 33, pp. 297-298.

shown how Ariadne can be identified with Catullus and Theseus with Lesbia, and if this is so, the elements of Ariadne's lament can be considered as vicarious expression of Catullus' feelings when Lesbia betrayed him. In addition to 64.139-142 and 64.154-157 (page 17) which demonstrate the parallel between the mythological couple and Catullus' own situation, two more passages can be discussed with reference to the betrayal theme. In lines 117-120 of poem 64, Catullus describes how Ariadne abandoned her family for Theseus. Recognizing the value of the family to Catullus, this situation can be interpreted as representative of the poet's abandonment of his morals in general for a relationship with Lesbia. So, not only did Lesbia betray Catullus, but in a sense, he betrayed himself. Later in the poem another parallel can be drawn: in lines 190-191 Ariadne states that she will not give up until *...quam justam a divis exposcam prodita multam, caelestumque fidem postrema comprecor hora*, "...from the gods I demand full penalty for my betrayal and in my last moments appeal for heaven's justice". This last resort of Ariadne is very similar to Catullus' desperate prayer of poem 76 (cf. 76.17-20 and 76.26, p. 19f.). Like Ariadne, he wants his rewards, although for Catullus they are personal rewards and not revenge. In addition to the four passages discussed which draw the comparison between Ariadne's and Catullus' betrayals, the overall portrayal of Theseus as selfish and heartless is similar to the character of the self-centered and irreverent Clodia.

Aside from poems of betrayal and adultery in the context of the marriage relationship involving Lesbia, Catullus comments on these themes in two other poems. Poem 113 offers general comment on the state of adultery in Rome which is representative of the decline in morals. Like a disease, adultery spreads rapidly throughout society; as Catullus wittily points out in line 4, *fecundum semen adulterio*, "Adultery has a fruitful seed." In poem 67, the woman of the house to which the door belongs has committed a number of offenses. Not only was she deflowered when she was married and not only

was she involved in an incestuous relationship with her father-in-law, but she also committed adultery. This woman has broken all of the rules: she violated the ideals of chastity, fidelity, and sanctity in the marriage, and she violated the family. This is the reason why adultery and betrayal were so offensive to Catullus: they had the power to destroy all of the ideals.

Incest was another violation which was revolting to Catullus. Like adultery, incest had the power to undermine the foundations of the institution of marriage and the power to destroy morality. It was also the supreme violation of the family, an institution which Catullus esteemed highly.³³ Some of Catullus' harshest invectives are directed against a certain Gellius, whose incestuous habits are the subject of a whole cycle of poems. Admittedly, the implications of incest in invectives may be merely another form of insult used by the poet, but the extent of the motif in reference to Gellius is significant (although the validity of the implications cannot be determined). The mildest poem of the cycle, 91, may hold the key as to why Gellius came to be the object of such invective; it seems that at one time, although he was a friend of Catullus, he tried to take Lesbia away from Catullus. Thus, it is possible that the poet took one sordid aspect of Gellius' life, his incestuous tendencies, and augmented that fault in several of the invectives directed against him, or, perhaps Catullus used Gellius' incest as representative of the depraved practices of the day.

The other poems in the cycle present a variety of incestuous relationships: Gellius with his aunt in 74, with his mother and sister in 88, with his mother, sister, uncle, and other female relatives in 89, and with his mother again in poem 90. The relationship with his mother is given special attention in 90 where Catullus implies that the Persians thought such a union acceptable in certain religious circumstances; this may be a slight at the eastern ways which, in general, were often considered decadent by the Romans. Nevertheless, Gellius' practices are portrayed as being so extensive that they probably would have been

³³ H. D. Rankin, "Catullus and Incest", *Eranos*, 1976, Vol. 74, pp. 113-121.

considered offensive to most Romans and not just to Catullus; incest is one practice that can be considered offensive universally.

Other poems outside of the Gellius cycle address the issue of incest. As mentioned above, poem 67 revealed an incestuous relationship between the woman and her father-in-law. Poem 78 presents the inadvertent incest of Gallus as a demonstration of what a perfect idiot he is. In 111 Catullus directs invective against Aufillena. In the first couplet he sets forth the ideal of the *univira*, but realizing that Aufillena could never fulfill the ideal, in the second couplet he insultingly advises her that it is better to be adulterous rather than incestuous. In poem 79 Catullus boldly jabs at Lesbia by implying something about her incestuous habits with her brother, which seem to have been common knowledge in the aristocratic circles. On the subject of incest, Catullus left no stones unturned.

Just as there is a vocabulary associated with the ideals, there are also certain words which Catullus used in his poems to represent the violation of the ideal. For adultery there are the words *adulter*, *adulterium*, *moechus*, *moecha*, and the verb *moechor*. Catullus did not use a specific word for incest; however, other words often associated with the crimes of incest and adultery are *impius*, *impurus*, *nefas*, *scelus*, *scelero*, and *scelestus*. It is clear from the care taken to set forth the ideals in the marriage poems that infractions on the ideals were taken equally as serious by the poet. Thus, several poems address the issues of adultery, betrayal, and incest in a variety of ways because such practices have the potential to drastically undermined the values of fidelity, chastity, sanctity, and familial love.

III

In addition to the marital imagery, another prominent theme in Catullus is that of passion. Passion is a powerful motivating force in the lives and actions of both the poet and his subjects. Thus words which express passion, are employed often by Catullus: *amo, ardor, ardeo, cupio, cupidus, delicia, libido, and Venus*, the goddess of passion. Often in the poems passion is expressed by the imagery of burning. Consequently, the words *flagro, flamma, flammatus, flammeus, ignis, incendo, incendium, torreo, and uror* are prevalent. Other words are used to describe the effects of such passion on a person: *amens, demens, furo, furor, morbus, pestilens, pestilentia, pestis, rabidus, rabies, torpeo, torpor, and vesanus*. The extent of the vocabulary alone indicates the importance of the theme of passion to Catullus. If this imagery is analyzed, Catullus' attitudes to the emotion can be understood; these attitudes also reveal something about his sexual morality. Therefore, the reader's comprehension of Catullus' morality as a whole can be enhanced by a greater understanding of the role of passion.

Passion can be a positive or negative force in the poems. As a positive force, "healthy" passion enhanced the relationship between two people. The scene between Acme and Septimius in poem 45 is very passionate. In lines 3-4 Septimius' passion deepens his love and commitment to Acme: *ni te perdit amo atque amare porro omnes sum assidue paratus annos*, "unless I love you constantly for all time to come, as desperately as the most desperate of lovers...." In lines 15-16 Acme reciprocates her feelings of passion: *ut multo mihi maior acriorque ignis mollibus ardet in medullis*, "as surely as a much greater and fiercer flame burns in my soft marrow." However, line 20 most clearly expresses the passionate bond between the two: *mutuis animis amant amantur*, "they love and are loved

with mutual affection". Although Acme and Septimius do not seem to be married (discussed p. 7), their love embodies several of the ideals of marriage: mutual love, a blessed union, eternal love, and fidelity. The role of passion in this poem is as the binding force of this ideal quasi-marital relationship which they share.

In the context of a real marriage, poem 61, healthy passion again acts as a binding force. In lines 44-45 Hymen is referred to as *dux bonae Veneris, boni coniugator amoris*, "the forerunner of honest passion, uniter of honest love". Here Venus symbolically represents sexual love. It is significant that the passion is described as *bonus* (cf. p. 11). Throughout the poem there are references to the groom's passion: for example, in a transferred epithet in lines 54-55 he listens *cupida aure*, "with eager ear". Because of her modesty the bride is described less frequently as passionate; only once, lines 31-32, is she called a *dominam cupidam*, a desirous mistress. In lines 169-171 the description of the mutual flame of passion is very similar to 45.15-16. In addition to these, there are several references to the blessings of sanctioned passion: in lines 97-101 the threat of adultery is diminished by their passion; in lines 109-111 the pleasures to be had legitimately are mentioned; in lines 195-198 Venus will bless their *bonum amorem*, and most importantly, their legitimate love will produce a child, lines 204-205. Poem 61 represents the positive role of passion in a *true* marital relationship.

It already has been mentioned (p. 4) that in Roman society, a visit to a prostitute was an acceptable way for a man, even if he were married, to release his sexual energy. Poem 32 seems to indicate that Catullus had some extra sexual energy. In this poem Catullus appears to be making an appointment with Ipsitilla, who was, presumably, a prostitute. The poet is very matter-of-fact about the whole situation and this attitude suggests that Ipsitilla was not a love of his like Lesbia. Such an excursion as the one anticipated by poem 32 would not have violated his love for or commitment to Lesbia. Therefore, this poem also can be considered as a representation of "healthy" passion on the

part of the poet.

Although the positive aspects of passion were strong, it seems that the negative aspects were stronger. Not only did they violate the benefits of healthy passion, when left uncontrolled, passion had the power to destroy lives and relationships. The blinding effect of passion is evident in the stories of Ariadne and Laodamia. In Ariadne's situation, she was so consumed by the flame of passion when she fell in love with Theseus that she lost her sense of reason, abandoning her family for a chance with a person whose true character she did not know. Her passion is described in lines 91-93:

*non prius ex illo flagrantia declinavit
lumina, quam concto concepit corpore flammam
funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis.*

"she turned not her burning glance away from him
until she caught fire in all her frame
deep within and totally burned to her inmost marrow."

Similarly, Laodamia's blinding passion caused her to neglect the sacrificial rites necessary for the blessings of the gods at the outset of a marriage:

*coniugis ut quondam flagrans advenit amore
Protesileam Laodamia domum
inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro
hostia caelestes pacificasset eros. (lines 73-76)*

"as on a time ablaze with love for her husband came
Laodamia to the house of Protesilaus,
a house begun in vain, before a victim's sacrificial
blood had appeased the lords of heaven."

It is significant that both young women are referred to as *flagrans*. The word is used only two other times in the corpus, once of the impious father-in-law of 67, and once of Juno's anger at her husband's adultery in 68. All four occurrences have to do with jealousy or passion in a negative way. The examples of the passions of Ariadne and Laodamia serve as warnings against the deceptive nature of excessive passion.

The story of Attis also vividly illustrates the consequences of excessive passion. Although it was a different sort of passion that deceived Attis, that of religious fervor and not personal attraction, the same blinding principles are involved in both situations. Attis' action represents the extremes to which one might go in the heat of passion. Similarities between the plight of Attis and Catullus' own experiences come to the reader's mind. Perhaps Catullus feels that, like Attis, he has castrated himself and his values for the desire for a woman. A similar interpretation, i.e. moral castration, was considered in reference to lines 22-24 of poem 11 (p. 6), and indeed the image of the cut flower has strong visual association with castration. Even in the other context of the flower image, the girl's loss of virginity, both interpretations represent a change in sexuality.

Throughout the poem *furor* and *rabies* describe Attis' uncontrolled state of mind; both words suggest powerful force of utter madness. *Furor* was also used of Ariadne at the departure of Theseus, and in many ways the description of the frantic actions of both are similar. In addition, both abandoned their homeland and their family for that individual by whom they were deceived.³⁴ Just as Catullus employed mythological stories to illustrate various aspects of the morality associated with marriage, so in the poems of Attis, Ariadne, and Laodamia he used mythology to demonstrate the dangers of passion.

Catullus also presents how passion, both heterosexual and homosexual, can violate personal relationships in other ways. In poem 15 Catullus entrusts Aurelius with the safe-keeping of his boyfriend (presumably Juventius). Catullus warns Aurelius that if his *furor...vecors*, "frantic lust", compels him to touch the boy, then Aurelius will have to suffer a terrible fate. If Aurelius did this, he would have violated not only Catullus' trust in him, but also the relationship between Catullus and the boy. In poem 21 Catullus offers another picture of Aurelius' uncontrollable sexual appetite; Aurelius is so consumed by lust that he does not even take time to eat. Although exaggerated, this is just another example

³⁴ Wiseman discusses the connections between Laodamia, Ariadne, Attis, and Catullus and their implications, pp. 175-182.

of the extremes to which one can be driven by passion.

Furthermore, poem 67 demonstrates how passion and lust can lead to the crimes of incest. In line 25 lust is suggested as the possible motivation for the father-in-law to violate his own son's marriage: *sive quod impia mens caeco flagrabat amore*, "perhaps his wicked mind lusted with" blind "passion". Similarly, it was some type of passion or lust that drove Gellius to commit his incest. With incest, the force of passion compels individuals to commit wrongs not only against other individuals, but the whole of society.

In several poems Catullus refers to the passion he felt for Lesbia in terms of a burning flame. This image is first used in reference to Lesbia in poem 51. Catullus describes his reaction when he sees her with another man:

*lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus
flamma demanat, sonitu suopte
tintinant aures geminae, teguntur
lumina nocte.* (lines 9-12)

"but my tongue is paralysed, a subtle flame
courses through my limbs, with sound self-caused
my two ears ring, and my eyes are
covered in darkness."

Considering that poem 51 was adapted by Catullus from Sappho, he evidently adopted the imagery of the flame directly from Sappho and utilized it not only in this poem, but throughout the corpus.

The burning imagery is also powerful in poem 68. In lines 51-54 Catullus uses geographical similes to describe the extent to which he burned with passion. The imagery is effectively relieved by the comparison of Allius' aid to a brook of running water. The burning imagery continues in poem 72, line 5: *quare etsi impensius uror*, "although I burn more ardently". Despite the revelation of Lesbia's true character to Catullus, his passion endures. One of the most profound expressions of this fact is poem 85: *Odi et amo. quare id faciam, fortasse requiris. nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior*, "I hate and love. Perhaps

you ask how I can do this? I know not, but I feel it so, and I am in agony." Although Catullus does not refer specifically to the image of fire in this poem, it can be inferred from the previous poems that he is describing the same situation. The passive voice of *excrucior* conveys the idea that Catullus is defenseless against this fire.

Similar to the burning imagery is the imagery of disease. In poem 76 Catullus refers to his passion as a disease (above, p. 21). In line 20 he refers to *hanc pestem perniciemque*, "this plague and pestilence", and in line 25, *taetrum hunc ... morbum*, "this foul disease". In addition to these images of fire and disease which apply directly to Catullus' feelings for Lesbia, there are also the metaphorical images found in the stories of Ariadne and Laodamia.

It is significant that Catullus' imagery of his own passion is consistently destructive; fire and disease images may have provided an effective comparison for the description of his passion, but the essentially destructive force of both cannot be overlooked. Although he idealized his relationship with Lesbia and considered them to have shared a marriage, he never used the imagery of the healthy passion, which was associated with the ideal marriages, in reference to the passion between himself and Lesbia. Like the passion of Ariadne and Attis, Catullus' passion was self-destructive, but it was not harmful to others as was the passion of Aurelius and Gellius.

IV

At the time Catullus was writing it appears that the change of morality took place not only to the private lives of men and women, but in other aspects of society as well. Catullus' invectives are directed against individuals, and often in a greater sense, the vices they represent. The poet's language of invective is harsh, almost relentless, and although it may seem to represent merely the foul mouth of the poet, there is a reason for his use of such language. Just as there was a contrast between the ideal morals of marriage and their sinful violation, so there is a contrast between the ideal morals of society and their violation.

Catullus' attitudes towards proper social conduct can be discerned in a number of his poems, especially ones written to or about his friends. Such words as *elegans*, *iucundus*, *lepor*, *lepidus*, *officium*, *urbanus*, and *venustus* refer to the ideals of proper social behavior.³⁵ Those who violated the ideals as well as what Catullus considered to be decent conduct were often the subjects of humiliating satire or harsh invective; in such poems Catullus employed *cinaedus*, *futuo*, *fututio*, *illeepidus*, *improbis*, *invenustus*, *irrumo*, *irrumatio*, *irrumator*, *malus*, *mentula*, *moechor*, *pathicus*, *pedico*, *scortum*, *vorax*, *voro*, and other nasty words and images. These words were most often used in association with political enemies, rivals for Lesbia's attentions, and persons who had offended the poet personally.

In the marriage poems it was shown how the violation of the personal relationship between a man and a woman was a serious offense. Given Catullus' high estimation of the *amicitia* relationship, it is no surprise that he also took his relationships with other men very seriously. Poem 102 illustrates Catullus' sense of obligation towards a friend:

³⁵ Ross mentions these and other words in his discussion of the "*urbanitas*" vocabulary, pp. 104-112.

*Si quicquam tacito commissumst fido ab amico,
cuius sit penitus nota fides animi,
me aequae esse invenies illorum iure sacratum,
Corneli, et factum me esse putum Harpocraten.*

"If aught was ever confided by a trusting to a silent friend,
whose sincerity of soul was thoroughly established,
you will find that I am no less bound by their code,
Cornelius, and have turned into the very god of silence."

Such obligation can be defined by the word *officium*. This word is extremely important in poem 68, occurring three times out of a total of five occurrences in the corpus. After a request from Manlius for a gift of poetry, Catullus explains that he is unable to honor his friend's request because of grief over his brother's death. Nevertheless, Catullus does not want Manlius to think that he is neglecting his *officium hospitii*, "duty of a friend" so he writes him an apology in verse and attaches the main portion of 68 (assuming 68A, 68B, and 68C are the same poem). Later in the poem Catullus immortalizes Allius (probably the same person as Manlius) who demonstrated his *officium* towards Catullus by opening his own home for the poet to share a secret rendezvous with Lesbia. This section of 68 begins (lines 41-42): *Non possum reticere, deae, qua me Allius in re iuverit aut quantis foverit officiis*, "Muses, I cannot bear to hide in what manner Allius helped my or cherished with what services". Finally, in line 150, Catullus reiterates that he sent the poem in appreciation for Allius' *multis officiis*, "many kindnesses".

Unfortunately, Catullus experienced much betrayal in his relationships, as he did with Lesbia. Poem 30 reveals the serious betrayal by Alfenus. Throughout the poem Catullus calls Alfenus a variety of names which convey the character of the treacherous friend: *dure*, "cruel one" in line 2, *perfide*, "traitor" in line 3, and *inique*, "villain" in line 7. In the second stanza Catullus implies that Alfenus has not only betrayed him, but also he has offended the gods, and in the last stanza Catullus assures him that there will be divine retribution through *Fides*. The third and fourth stanzas are reminiscent of Theseus,

who after he had gained the trust of Ariadne, betrayed her and his promises were left to the wind. Similarly, Catullus was deceived by Lesbia's words (poem 70) and here by Alfenus'.

Poem 73 conveys the culmination of Catullus' distrust in others. He dramatically generalizes that no one is grateful, and being kind to others does more harm than good in lines 1-4. In the final couplet Catullus explains that he feels this way due to the recent betrayal of a friend. It is unclear what friend betrayed Catullus and in what way; regardless, it is evident that he took the matter to heart. Poems 77 and 91 portray the betrayal of named "friends" who have become Catullus' enemies; 77 refers to Ravidus and 91 to Gellius. Both men, it seems, tried to take away someone who was dear to Catullus, presumably Lesbia.

In the "hard core" invectives, Catullus often used words associated with homosexuality to insult his subject. It must be realized, however, that homosexuality was not regarded as entirely abominable in the Rome of Catullus' day.³⁶ Homosexuality was an aspect of the import of things Greek, and, therefore, it appears to have been mostly a habit of the upper class. The extent to which homosexual practices were tolerated or regarded as acceptable is unclear, but what is clear is that it was unacceptable to be the passive partner. Consequently, the language of invective represents the passive role: *cinaedus*, *irrumo*, *irrumatio*, *irrumator*, *pathicus*, *pedico*, and *voro*.

Throughout the invectives Catullus threatens to attack those who have offended him either with his poetry, as in poems 40 and 42, or sexually. Of course by putting the threat in writing, he always fulfilled the first possibility. One of the clearest examples of Catullus' use of homosexual language in a threat is in poem 16. The poem begins: *Pedicabo ego vos et irrumabo, Aureli pathice et cinaede Furi*, I will "bugger and stuff you,

³⁶ R. MacMullen, "Roman Attitudes to Greek Love", *Historia*, 1982, Vol. 31, pp. 484-502, and Wiseman, pp. 10-14.

you catamite Aurelius and you pervert Furius" (lines 1-2). The rest of the poem tells us that Catullus makes this threat because Furius and Aurelius have presumably insulted the poet and his poetry.

In other poems there is rarely such a concentration of this vocabulary, but images of Catullus exercising some type of force over his enemies are frequent. For example, in poem 37 Catullus is so upset with Lesbia's lovers that he threatens to "stuff" all 200 of them together (line 8)! Other insults can be found in the poems having to do with stealing. In poem 25 the thief Thallus is addressed as *cinaede Thalle*; similarly in poem 33 Catullus addresses Vibennius' son, another thief, *cinaede fili*. *Pathicus*, a word like *cinaedus*, is used of Naso in poem 112.

It is important to note, however, that this language does not reflect derogatory attitudes of the poet towards homosexuality. In fact, the Juventius cycle appears to indicate that Catullus had feelings of love and affection for another male. Just as Catullus was eager to kiss Lesbia in poems 5 and 7, so he was eager to kiss Juventius in poems 48 and 99. The imagery of 48 is strikingly similar to that of poems 5 and 7. In the other poems which name or imply Juventius, 24, 81, and 106, it is clear that Catullus was continually disappointed by the boy. Poem 99 seems to offer the answer: Juventius was simply not interested in the affections of Catullus. Poems 15 and 21 also offer evidence that the poet had genuine affection for the boy. Both poems deal with the entrusting of Juventius (presumably, although he is not named) to Aurelius. Poem 15 indicates that Catullus was concerned about the boy's chastity (although it is unclear why he would be entrusting such a character as Aurelius with another's chastity!) The themes of desire, disappointment, infidelity, and chastity were all part of Catullus' relationship with Lesbia. Thus, the similarities in expression suggest that Juventius was not just a sexual object to Catullus and that the poet took his homosexual romance nearly as seriously as his heterosexual relationship with Lesbia.³⁷

Politics represented another sphere of society that had been tainted by moral degradation. Although Catullus was quite aware of the political environment, he does not seem to have approved of it, but rather he was disgusted with the corruption which he experienced under Memmius and the general injustice throughout the system. Poem 28 describes such a situation: Veranius and Fabullus, friends of Catullus, had been exploited in politics by the companions of Piso just as Catullus had been by Memmius. The poet chose to express the exploitation in terms of homosexual subjugation; lines 9-10 refer to Catullus' experience and lines 11-13 to that of Veranius and Fabullus. Considering the implications of power and humiliation in such a situation, homosexual imagery was quite appropriate. Poem 47 presents another example of the political injustice suffered by Veranius and Fabullus. The poet's complete disgust with the political situation is perhaps best expressed in poem 52.1: *quid est, Catulle? quid moraris emori?*, "What stops you Catullus? Why wait to die and end it all?"

Of all of the political figures mentioned or implied in the poems, Mamurra, an associate of Caesar, is the most thoroughly attacked by Catullus. The poet usually addresses him as *Mentula*, or "Cock"; such a name only illustrates Catullus' contempt for Mamurra. It is unclear from the poems whether Mamurra ever wronged Catullus directly. Nevertheless, in light of Catullus' high moral standards, Mamurra's depravity as portrayed in poem 29 would have been enough to provoke the enmity of the poet. In 29, Mamurra is guilty of an array of crimes. Lines 2 and 10 claim that he is *impudicus et vorax et aleo*, "lost to shame and a glutton and a gambler"; the polysyndeton of *et* emphasizes the variety of offenses. Lines 6-7 reveal more: *et ille nunc superbus et superfluens perambulat omnium cubilia*, "and is he now, overbearing and overwealthy, to prance around everyone's marriage-bed...". Mamurra's ability to squander money is detailed in lines 17-

³⁷ Lyne would disagree. He claims, "Catullus writes physically enthusiastic poems to Juventius; but there is no question of *foedus*, *amicitia*, or spiritual tenderness in this affair" (p. 174).

19. Not only does Mamurra's corruption debase his own character, he has violated marriages, his family, and the state. In lines 21-24 the poet reprimands Pompey and Caesar (presumably) for permitting his actions. This can also be interpreted as indirect attack on Pompey and Caesar through "guilt-by-association".

Following this poem there is a series of other invectives against Mamurra. Poems 41 and 43 insult his girl friend directly, and Mamurra indirectly. In poem 57 Catullus attacks both Mamurra and Caesar claiming that the pair are two peas in a pod of depravity; as in other invectives, the poet calls them *cinaedis* (lines 1 and 10). In the elegiacs, poem 94 presents a pun on Mamurra's nickname, and in 105 an obscure reference to Mamurra's failure with poetry. Finally 114 and 115 represent the overall political corruption in two poems dealing with Mamurra's wealth. Like Gellius, Catullus portrays Mamurra as thoroughly corrupt and makes him out to be the butt of numerous insults.

The objects of Catullus' invectives had violated the "rules" of decent social conduct; they were not *pudicus*. The poet perceived of an obligation between two people as *officium*. Unfortunately, not everyone felt such a keen sense of duty, and often Catullus was disappointed by the betrayal of his friends. At those who had committed greater injustices against the poet and society, Catullus hurled homosexual insults. These insults cast their object in the humiliating role of the passive partner, and Catullus in the dominating role; thus the poet was able to get the best of his enemies through words. The Mamurra poems and other political invectives demonstrate the extent to which Catullus was incensed with the political morals of his day. The poet was unsparing in his invectives against Mamurra whom he had chosen as the quintessence of political corruption. Just as Catullus had no toleration for the violation of morals in the private sphere, he allowed none for the breaches in the public sphere.

Conclusion

In every aspect of the poet's morality, marital, sexual, and social, there is conflict; of course, it is the very nature of morality to be subject to conflicting sides since there are no absolutes. What is significant about the conflicts in Catullus' morality is that they represent the two sides of the moral transformation of his society. On the one hand there was the old, traditional morality on which Catullus seems to have been raised. On the other hand, however, there was a new morality which undermined the relatively austere lifestyle of the Romans; this new morality was formed to a great extent by some Romans' overindulgence in luxuriant Greek customs which were new and popular in Rome. This new lifestyle began to emerge in the upper class, and some individuals, like Catullus' Lesbia, were carried away by it to the extremes of self-indulgence.

Catullus, and undoubtedly others of his day, considered the evils of his society a part of this wave of immorality. At the end of poem 64, lines 382-408, Catullus composed an interesting "postscript" to the story of Peleus and Thetis. He contrasts the open relationships which existed between gods and mortals at the time of Peleus' and Thetis' marriage in the golden age with the lack of such relationships in his own day. He explains that the gods no longer visit earth due to the impiety of man, man who commits sacrilege, fratricide, and incest, man who shows disrespect for his family and the family gods. Line 405 succinctly states what man has done: he has achieved *omnia fanda nefanda malo permixta furore*, "the mingling of all right and wrong in sinful madness". In other poems Catullus reveals his exposure to similar crimes out of his own personal experience: sacrilege, incest, and the disrespect for one's family as well as adultery, betrayal, and political corruption. For Catullus it seemed that no longer was any relationship sacred: not the relationship between man and god, man and the state, man and fellow man, or man and

woman.

Clearly Catullus was the advocate of a better morality, one modelled on the *mores maiorum*, and not the passing fancy of the day. The institutions of religion, the state, family, friendship, and marriage were sacred to him. Indeed Catullus seems to have been genuinely concerned about the morality of Rome, but it must be remembered that Catullus was writing these poems on a more personal level, too. The outstanding irony on the personal level, however, is that Catullus himself was a *moechus*, an adulterer, in his relationship with Lesbia. In this respect, the sense of morality conveyed through the poems represents Catullus' awareness of the conflicting values not only as a spectator and sometimes a victim, but also as a participant. The contrast between what Catullus practised and what he preached is intriguing considering the apparent sincerity of expression in what he preached. Perhaps Catullus, the participant, compelled by passion, was so disturbed by his violation of his own beliefs that his poetry came to reveal, in varying degrees, this deep personal controversy.

Ultimately, this struggle may have been the source of Catullus' interest in the idealization of marriage. As seen in poem 68 and others, he desperately wanted Lesbia to fit his mold of the ideal marriage. The mold was carefully constructed in poems such as 61, 62, 64, and 66. These long poems combined in different ways the ideals and the realities of the realms of the mythological, Roman society, and Catullus' own personal experience to produce a complex, multi-dimensional representation of a relationship which was ideal, yet attainable. Catullus' ideal, a work of art in itself, was embraced by the principles of the *amicitia* relationship, a definite reality in Catullus' day.

Through his portrayal of the violation of marital ideals and social *mores*, Catullus conveyed his moral defeat at the hands of Lesbia, as well as his disgust with the realities of his society. Poem 76 is the quintessential expression of the injury caused by Lesbia. Not only had she violated the *amicitia* and caused him devastation externally, internally his

contamination by her produced a disease which was consuming Catullus. Others, such as Gellius (poem 91) and Mamurra (poem 29), who had violated *amicitia* or other established institutions deeply offended Catullus. Just as he experienced and expressed a great dichotomy between the ideals and realities of his relationship with Lesbia, so he felt the struggle between the ideals and realities of his whole society. In this way, the powerful moral component of Catullus' poetry must be considered from his perspectives both on society as a whole and personally.

Appendix A

The Thesaurus Linguae Catulli

In conjunction with my Senior Honors Project I have developed a computer application which I have named the Thesaurus Linguae Catulli. It was designed to perform word searches on the poems of Catullus in order that I might better understand the poet's use of specific words and his creation of larger images and ideas through those words. Of course all poets and authors use words to convey their own ideas, but it seemed to me that Catullus was particularly careful to create subtle verbal links between poems, and I became interested in an analysis of these patterns. After seeing a demonstration of the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, I immediately realized that computers would provide the perfect channels for such analysis. It could have been done manually, but in searching for specific information, computers are much faster and more accurate.

Not having access to an Ibycus computer or any such searching tool, I began to consider developing my own database. HyperCard was suggested to me as the solution. HyperCard is a database program designed for the Apple Macintosh system. It has a surprising amount of power for its relative simplicity of design. Each HyperCard program is known as its own "stack"; a stack consists of individual "cards" which contain information in "fields" and are manipulated through "buttons" which execute certain functions. These stacks can be custom designed through various types and combinations of cards, fields, and buttons to suit the user's needs.

Once I understood the basic principles of HyperCard, I began to design the layout of my stack. First of all I needed cards which would contain the text, so I made a card for each poem. The main feature of each "poem card" is a scrolling text field into which I entered the poem using the Oxford Classical Text of Catullus. Above the scrolling field

there is a small field which contains the poem number. In addition to these fields, I have created an area to the left of the text field which encloses five smaller fields each of which contains information about the various categories of the poem. I chose to include the categories of "Theme", "Subtheme", "Meter", "To", and a fifth which works with "To" to organize the addressees by category. In order to discern these categories, I read through the poems at first in translation and tried to group them into clusters as to their theme and addressee; after reading the poems in Latin, I later revised some of my original categories. These category fields serve two purposes: first of all, they were functionally necessary in the design of the search function; secondly they provide the user with a convenient "quick reference" when looking at a poem. In addition to the 113 poem cards, there are various other cards which have specific functions or offer the user more information.

Besides the fields, each poem card contains various buttons which allow the user to move through the stack; a button is activated by a click of the mouse when the pointer is on that button. There are arrow buttons which move the user one card forward or one card backwards throughout the poem cards. (These arrows also appear in some smaller sequences built within the stack.) There is a special arrow which takes the user back to the title card. Another arrow allows the user to type in the exact poem he or she would like to see; this prevents the user from having to go through the cards one by one to reach a certain poem. There are also buttons to quit the program and to print the card. Unfortunately, the printer will only print exactly what appears on the screen; if the poem is long, it will have to be printed in approximately fifteen line intervals.

Each poem card contains a search button through which the user initiates a word search. Following a click on the search button, another screen appears in which the user is asked what portion of the corpus he or she would like to search: "Entire" or "Specific". Clicking the "Entire" option takes the user back to poem I onto which screen a box appears into which the user types the word to be searched. The root must be typed unless the user

is interested only in a certain form; the computer will search exactly what it is given. When searching the computer tests the beginning of each word until it finds a match; if the word "*circum*" is typed in, the computer will find *circum* but also *circumsiliens*, *circumdare*, etc. If a word undergoes a stem change, all stems must be searched individually. Another minor drawback is that only one word can be searched at a time; the program cannot handle phrases or sets of words. Once a word is found, it is highlighted with a square box. In a few seconds a box will appear in the middle of the screen asking if the user would like to quit, wait, or continue. Clicking "wait" will cause the question box to disappear for several seconds to give the user time to study the highlighted word. By clicking "continue", the computer will, of course, find the next occurrence of that word. This process continues in a loop until the search is ended.

If the user chooses the "Specific" option in the first step of the search, a new screen will appear giving the user the choice to search by "Theme", "Meter", "Addressee", or "By Single Poem". If "By Single Poem" is chosen, the user will be asked to type in the number of the poem. After the poem appears, the box into which the root is typed appears. The search will be executed, but limited to that one poem. If "Theme", "Meter", or "Addressee" is chosen, another card will appear which contains buttons for all of the different themes if "Theme" was clicked, all of the different meters if "Meter" was clicked, and all of the different addressees if "Addressee" was clicked. Once the user chooses the category by which he or she wishes to limit the search, the computer then looks for the first poem which meets the specified condition and the search begins as previously described. From the screen which lists the various categories, the user can reach an informational screen which describes how the poems were categorized. From the informational screen for "Meter", a reference of the various meters can be accessed. In certain Addressee categories, an additional screen has been included to display which poems fall under that category, for example the category "Enemy". The computer performs the searches with

relative speed and complete accuracy.

For my research I have searched a variety of words which I considered to have significant meanings in the poems or words which tended to recur. After organizing all of the words by root, while performing a search on a certain root, I kept notes as to the form, connotation, and context of a word. Although I did not find the neat patterns I was looking for through the patterns of usage of individual words, I did gain a better understanding of how a group of words worked together to convey an image or idea. Through this broader perspective I feel I have gained insight into the overall scheme of Catullus' poetry and the moral foundation on which it was written. In the beginning perhaps I should have heeded more carefully the words of R. O. A. M. Lyne:

"Analysis and poetry are essentially conflicting occupations. To define the constituent elements of ideas and feelings can hardly be the proper function of poetry. For if one succeeds in doing it, one will *also* have succeeded in confining words to a particular sense in a tight and static syntax. ... The poetic art is to stimulate the imagination, to *suggest* not define. All great poetry is a dynamic not a static texture in which words can (as it were) *move*, combining and recombining to yield shifting aspects of meaning."¹

In light of this, I do not feel that the creation of such a computer application is entirely a waste of time, however. I believe that language analysis can reveal a great deal about the ideas and values of the author just as the words a person uses in conversation can reveal much about the individual's personality. However, such analysis must be executed with a certain amount of caution. Language is flexible, and human expression cannot be confined to strict categories, as Lyne suggests. Catullus indeed has taught me to bear in mind the certain limitations of the extent to which language analysis can be constructive or destructive in the analysis of poetry.

¹ R. O. A. M. Lyne, *The Latin Love Poets*, Oxford: The University of Oxford Press, 1980.

Appendix B

Catullus' Poems: Data Overview

	<u>Theme</u>	<u>Subtheme</u>	<u>Meter</u>	<u>To</u>
1.	Personal	Dedication	Hendecasyllabic	Cornelius - Friend
2.	Lesbia	Sparrow	Hendecasyllabic	Sparrow - Nonhuman
3.	Lesbia	Sparrow	Hendecasyllabic	Audience
4.	Narrative	Boat	Iambic Senarius	Audience
5.	Lesbia	Kiss	Hendecasyllabic	Lesbia
6.	Satire	Love Affair	Hendecasyllabic	Flavius - Friend
7.	Lesbia	Kiss	Hendecasyllabic	Lesbia
8.	Lesbia	Rejection	Limping Iambic	Catullus
9.	Friend	Return	Hendecasyllabic	Veranius - Friend
10.	Friend	Anecdote	Hendecasyllabic	Audience
11.	Lesbia	Invective	Sapphic Strophe	Furius & Aurelius - Rival
12.	Invective	Theft	Hendecasyllabic	Asinius - Enemy
13.	Friend	Invitation	Hendecasyllabic	Fabullus - Friend
14.	Friend	Reprimand	Hendecasyllabic	Calvus - Friend
15.	Juventius	Homosexual	Hendecasyllabic	Aurelius - Rival
16.	Personal	Poetry	Hendecasyllabic	Furius & Aurelius - Rival
17.	Satire	Unfit Marriage	Priapean	Colony - Place
21.	Juventius	Homosexual	Hendecasyllabic	Aurelius - Rival
22.	Satire	Suffenus	Limping Iambic	Varus - Friend
23.	Satire	Furius	Hendecasyllabic	Furius - Rival
24.	Juventius	Reprimand	Hendecasyllabic	Juventius
25.	Invective	Theft	Iambic Tetrameter Cat.	Thallus - Enemy
26.	Satire	Furius	Hendecasyllabic	Furius - Rival
27.	Personal	Poetry	Hendecasyllabic	Unnamed (Wine Steward)
28.	Political	Mistreatment	Hendecasyllabic	Veranius & Fabullus - Friend
29.	Political	Mamurra	Iambic Senarius	Unnamed (Pompey & Caesar)
30.	Invective	Betrayal	Greater Asclepiadean	Alfenus - Enemy
31.	Personal	Return	Limping Iambic	Sirmio - Place
32.	Personal	Love Affair	Hendecasyllabic	Ipsitilla - Woman
33.	Invective	Theft	Hendecasyllabic	Vibennius & son - Enemy
34.	Hymn	Diana	Glyconic & Pherecrtn.	Diana - Deity
35.	Friend	Invitation	Hendecasyllabic	Papyrus - Nonhuman
36.	Lesbia	Invective	Hendecasyllabic	Annals - Nonhuman
37.	Lesbia	Invective	Limping Iambic	Egnatius - Rival
38.	Friend	Reprimand	Hendecasyllabic	Cornificius - Friend
39.	Satire	Egnatius	Limping Iambic	Egnatius - Rival
40.	Invective	Lesbia	Hendecasyllabic	Ravidus - Rival
41.	Invective	Mamurra	Hendecasyllabic	Mamurra's Girl - Woman
42.	Invective	Adulterous Woman	Hendecasyllabic	Hendecasyllables - Nonhuman
43.	Invective	Mamurra	Hendecasyllabic	Mamurra's Girl - Woman
44.	Satire	Sestius	Limping Iambic	Villa - Place
45.	Narrative	Love Affair	Hendecasyllabic	Audience
46.	Personal	Return	Hendecasyllabic	Catullus
47.	Political	Mistreatment	Hendecasyllabic	Porcius & Socraton - Enemy

48.	Juventius	Kiss	Hendecasyllabic	Juventius
49.	Friend	Praise	Hendecasyllabic	Cicero - Friend
50.	Friend	Poetry	Hendecasyllabic	Calvus - Friend
51.	Lesbia	Jealousy	Sapphic Strophe	Lesbia
52.	Political	Criticism	Iambic Trimeter	Catullus
53.	Friend	Anecdote	Hendecasyllabic	Audience
54.	Political	Invective	Hendecasyllabic	Unnamed (Caesar)
55.	Personal	Homosexual	Hendecasyllabic	Camerius - Friend
56.	Friend	Anecdote	Hendecasyllabic	Cato - Friend
57.	Invective	Mamurra & Caesar	Hendecasyllabic	Audience
58.	Lesbia	Prostitution	Hendecasyllabic	Caelius - Friend
59.	Satire	Rufa	Limping Iambic	Audience
60.	Lesbia	Invective	Limping Iambic	Unnamed (Lesbia)
61.	Hymn	Wedding	Glyconic & Pherecrtn.	Hymen - Deity
62.	Hymn	Wedding	Dactylic Hexameter	Hymen - Deity
63.	Narrative	Attis	Galliambic	Cybele - Deity
64.	Narrative	Wedding	Dactylic Hexameter	Audience
65.	Personal	Poetry	Elegiac Couplet	Hortalsus - Friend
66.	Narrative	Lock of Berenice	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
67.	Narrative	Dialog with Door	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
68.	Personal	Love Affair	Elegiac Couplet	Manius - Friend
69.	Invective	Sexual	Elegiac Couplet	Rufus - Enemy
70.	Lesbia	Words	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
71.	Invective	Sexual	Elegiac Couplet	Unnamed (Rufus?)
72.	Lesbia	Relationship	Elegiac Couplet	Lesbia
73.	Personal	Injury	Elegiac Couplet	Catullus
74.	Invective	Gellius' Incest	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
75.	Lesbia	Injury	Elegiac Couplet	Lesbia
76.	Lesbia	Despair	Elegiac Couplet	Catullus
77.	Invective	Betrayal	Elegiac Couplet	Rufus - Enemy
78.	Satire	Gallus	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
79.	Invective	Lesbius	Elegiac Couplet	Catullus
80.	Invective	Homosexual	Elegiac Couplet	Gellius - Enemy
81.	Juventius	Reprimand	Elegiac Couplet	Juventius
82.	Lesbia	Plea	Elegiac Couplet	Quintius - Enemy
83.	Lesbia	Words	Elegiac Couplet	Interlocutor
84.	Satire	Arrius	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
85.	Lesbia	Torment	Elegiac Couplet	Interlocutor
86.	Lesbia	Beauty	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
87.	Lesbia	Loyalty	Elegiac Couplet	Lesbia
88.	Invective	Gellius' Incest	Elegiac Couplet	Gellius - Enemy
89.	Invective	Gellius' Incest	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
90.	Invective	Gellius' Incest	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
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94.	Invective	Mamurra	Elegiac Couplet	Interlocutor
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96.	Friend	Consolation	Elegiac Couplet	Calvus - Friend
97.	Satire	Aemilius	Elegiac Couplet	Audience

98.	Satire	Vettius	Elegiac Couplet	Vettius - Enemy
99.	Juventius	Kiss	Elegiac Couplet	Juventius
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105.	Invective	Mamurra	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
106.	Juventius	Reprimand	Elegiac Couplet	Audience
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110.	Invective	Prostitution	Elegiac Couplet	Aufillena - Woman
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